533
585 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The 533] wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 262 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krsto always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

A [576] Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her.

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party.

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard.

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562 264] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:—

From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "We'd be saying: 'Run away and play, dear. This isn't for children,'" I commented.

"We wouldn't," said Frances. "They'd have been in bed six hours ago. How on earth do they live to grow up?"

"Heaven knows. But aren't they strong and beautiful when they do!"

"It's all right," said Perolli, aside. "They're talking about the French—whether France will become enough afraid of Jugo-Slavia to side with Italy down here. They aren't for or against the Tirana government; they don't exactly understand it, but they're waiting to find out. They don't know who I am. Don't be worried."

And at last dinner appeared. It was exactly half past two in the morning.

Most of the children—they had had no supper at all, so far as we could determine—were going to sleep, collapsing in soft little heaps where they sat beside the fire. Various women of the household lifted them tenderly, carried them to the farther corner of the house, near the goats, and laid them in a row on the floor. There, covered head and foot with heavy, tucked-in blankets, they continued to sleep.

264 574 Meantime the table was brought for us.* It was a large round piece of wood, raised on little legs perhaps five inches from the floor. We sat about it, comfortably cross-legged on our blankets, and before each of us was laid a large chunk of corn bread broken from the flat loaf. In the

*[At Marke Gjoni's house. For detailed account of visit, see cat. 116, pp. [80] 54-86 -- Ed.]

center of the table was set a wooden bowl filled with pieces of pork. 264 574

"Don't!" said Perolli, quickly, restraining our famished gestures. "In Albania it is not good manners to be eager to eat." So we sat wretched for some moments, savoring the delicious odor of food that we must not touch, and politely making conversation with our hosts, who still sprawled in graceful attitudes about the fire. Then, with slow and indifferent movements, we fished out bits of the meat with our fingers, and ate.

It was delicious, the lean meat, stripped of every scrap of fat and broiled on sticks over a wood fire. We ate eagerly, biting first the meat, then a morsel of corn bread, coarse, made without leavening, but sweet and nutty. The smallest crumb of it must not be scattered on table or floor; when one fell, Perolli instructed us to pick it up and kiss it. We should also have made the sign of the cross, for bread is sacred in these mountains. Since we were not Catholics, that omission might be overlooked. But we must pick up the crumb and kiss it; to have ignored it would have been scandal.

"In Albania," said Perolli, "it is etiquette to leave a great deal of the food." And while we were still starving, after fourteen hours of hunger, he ordered the dish away.

After that, another wooden bowl filled with cubes of the fat pork, fried crisp. Rexh[1] sitting a little apart, soberly ate his piece of corn bread,

[1] A Mohammedan boy -- [81] Analyst

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

for not even in the next village had the messenger been able to find eggs or goat's meat.

When this second course was removed, fresh water was again brought to wash our hands, while the table was removed to a little distance. Then I saw why it was courteous to leave food, for all the villagers who had come in to see us gathered around this second table. And when they had finished and all had washed their hands —it was now past three in the morning—the table was again moved, and the family ate, men and women together, chatting and daintily dipping into the common dish.

"Do you think, Perolli," said Frances, "that we could go to bed now?" And she looked enviously at Alex, who sat stony eyed, upright, and fast asleep.

"Oh, surely!" said Perolli. "They'll understand that you're tired." And he explained this to our hosts, who nodded, smiling. So Cheremi and Rexh spread our blankets more smoothly on the floor, and we lay down in a row, our heads on our saddlebags, and pulled another blanket over us.

For a time the others sat by the fire and talked; one roasted coffee over the coals in a long-handled pan, and then ground it in a cylinder of brass. The warm brown smell of it and the sound of grinding kept coming through my daze of fatigue. Then one by one they lay down, covering their heads with blankets; the fire died to a fading glow of coals; there was no sound

ooo empty coffee cup to Sadiri Luka, saying, "*Per te mire* (All good to you)," and rose. He would not stay to share the food which the women were even then bringing, for there was a sick man in upper Thethis, too ill to come to confession, who had sent, begging the padre to come to him. The sick man's son waited for him at the door, and two chiefs laced his opangi, gave him his staff, and went with him a little way on the trail.

574 It was midafternoon, and since early morning
264 the women had been preparing the feast they offered us.[1] A special dispensation had been asked, and granted by Padre Marjan, for that feast, for though this was Lent, we were not Catholics, and never before had Americans been guests in upper Thethis. Far and wide the rumor had gone that in our own tribe we were daughters of chiefs, and it was with apologies that the village offered us its best.

When we had washed our hands in water poured from a silver pitcher, and dried them on a towel of white silk, a large brass tray was set on four midget legs in the midst of our cushions, and the other guests withdrew to places near the walls. Much urging persuaded Sadiri Luka to sit with us and share such parts of the feast as did not break the Lenten fast. Newly made wooden spoons were given us, and a silver bowl of hot chicken broth was set in the center of the tray.

829 Sadiri Luka spoke little, but his remarks were sound and well considered. While our spoons

[1] [At house of Sadiri Luka, [190] wealthy man of upper Thethis -- Analyt]

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo Austrians and Italians, and always, always the Serbs! And it may be that the Serbs will be too strong for us and that we shall all die fighting them."

After that he went to the other side of the fire, beside his grandmother, and he sat for a long time talking to her. "Shkodra," I heard, which is the Albanian name of Scutari, and "*mooshk*," and I knew he was talking of me and the mule I wanted to hire, but why it should be such a long and grave discussion I did not understand.

• 264 Then we had dinner, served on several little tables, that all might eat at the same time, and the men and women ate together, but only the youngest and most beautiful woman ate at the byraktor's table, silent and respectful, dipping her long, aristocratic fingers diffidently in the dish. I thought she was his wife, but Rexh said no, she was his son's bride, still in those six months when she must not speak until spoken to, nor sit unless asked, and the byraktor liked her very much and wished to make her feel at home, because she was lonely for her own tribe.

ooo After we had all washed our hands for the second time, and the men had had an after-dinner smoke—I still turned my head from the proffered cigarettes—the byraktor said that he would himself escort me to-morrow on the road to Scutari. I should ride his mule, and it was arranged that we should start at four o'clock.

1/K [At house of Shoshi warchief -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning ; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast ; but 364 315 301 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were perfunctory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven ; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference ; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

[1] [i.e. eating — Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

• 264

SUPPER

231

SKINNING A SHEEP

252 and raise the hammer. Then when the water
402 spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and
256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and the men squat around the communal table.
[352] In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beech-wood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a wash-bowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

[See pp. 16a-16b-Analysis -18a-]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 252 265 Professional cooks are found only in the towns and in new government stations. In Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the like, collected by women. Furthermore each family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

594 261

241 [594] Farming is a family affair. The man buys the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure.

141 members of the privileged classes are taller
565 than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the
*128 mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*), the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	LIMESTONE			SERPENTINE		
	No.	MEAN		No.	MEAN	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable
[262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 267.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpí*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

In the Restaurant

"Good! Good! Dobro! Good!" Then he patted me kindly on the back. I could sometimes wish that all critics were as easily pleased.

With the exception of breakfast, which in mid-Albania is either a non-existent meal, or consists of a cup of Turkish coffee and nothing else, I got my food at a little restaurant in the bazaar. Here, as at the inn, my demands were wont to cause astonishment. They could never understand my liking for maize bread, which is despised by them as the food of the poor, and, unless I made a fuss, always provided me with the stodgy imitation of French bread which they considered more suitable for a person of my exalted status. And when I asked for yaghourt, as I frequently did, the cook felt, I think, much as the head waiter of the Carlton would if one of the diners were to send him out for a penn'orth of fish and chips. Otherwise the food was what one usually finds in such places—all kinds of curious odds and ends of meat, partly roasted and partly stewed, oily beans, stuffed cucumbers, pilaf of rice, and sometimes macaroni. Now and then there would be caramel pudding, smothered in honey and much too sweet. The restaurant was open to the street, and, as it consisted of one room only, both cooking and washing-up went on in full view of the diners. The various dishes simmered all day over a slow charcoal fire, and there was no difference between dinner at midday and supper at night. The best drink was bottled beer from Trieste at three krone (1s. 3d.) the bottle, the wine, like all Albanian wine, being poor stuff. I usually found it necessary

[in Elbasan -- Analyst] 245

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer w[illegible] stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937-12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937-13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albânia E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room[1] is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully M secluded in their own part of the house.

A 342 Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C [35] stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[1] [i.e., the guest-chamber.—Analyst]